

W. EDGAR

1983 FEB 1 1983

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS
204 LANE LANE
UPPER CHERRY, PHOENIX, ARIZONA 85002
CITY, PL. 8-5700
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535
TELEPHONE 202-646-6000

Congress of the United States

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
House of Representatives C/NR

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
FEB 4 1983
January 27, 1983
D. M. Craver

The Honorable George P. Shultz
Secretary of State
2201 C Street, NW
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

It has recently come to my attention that the Department of State may be changing its official position regarding the genocide perpetrated on the Armenian people by the government of Turkey in the early years of this century. Specifically, the August 1982 issue of the Department of State Bulletin contained an article by Andrew Corsun which included a footnote denying State Department acceptance of the genocide as fact. The footnote stated in part:

"Because the historical record of the 1915 events in Asia Minor is ambiguous, the Department of State does not endorse allegations that the Turkish Government committed a genocide against the Armenian people."

An editor's note in the September issue of the Bulletin disavows any State Department endorsement of Mr. Corsun's comments, but the fact that the Bulletin is subtitled "The Official Monthly Record of United States Foreign Policy" seems to indicate otherwise.

While there are always disputes regarding details in events of this magnitude, numerous reputable historians, politicians, and others have supported and documented the fact that 1.5 million Armenians were slaughtered by the Turkish government in 1915. The evidence includes telegrams from then-U.S. Ambassador Henry Morgenthau, other contemporary accounts, and later historical research. Both President Reagan, before and after his election, and President Carter on several occasions have commented on the massacre of the Armenians, describing it as genocide.

Although Turkey is an important ally of our nation, this should not preclude our statement of historical truths. We certainly should not bow to Turkish pressure and deny the accuracy of the historical evidence. It is my understanding that in a recent meeting with Armenian representatives, State Department officials indicated a willingness to consider a retraction of the Bulletin statement. I urge you to move promptly to issue a palinode of Mr. Corsun's comments. I would also hope that that such possibly controversial comments would not be published in the future if they are not official Department policy. Please let me know of your thoughts on this matter.

Sincerely,

BOB EDGAR, M.C.

BE/dak

(1)

36
FEB 25 17 37 63 4288

ARMENIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Central Office:

212 STUART STREET, BOSTON, MASS. 02116 • TEL. (617) 426-9842

February 3, 1983

Hon. George P. Shultz
Secretary of State
Department of State
2201 C Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Secretary Shultz:

On January 25, 1983, we sent you a memorandum dealing with the "Note" in your August 1982 Bulletin which seemed to deny the Armenian Genocide ever occurred. The statement in question was made in the name of "The Department of State" rather than any individual or division within the Department.

We are aware that since then the Department has responded to complaints received from Speaker O'Neill and others on this matter and that the Department's recent letter to the Speaker, signed by the Assistant Secretary Hughes "on behalf of the Department" sets forth the Department's current "position" which is, in fact, just an avoidance of the issue and nothing more.

The letter to the Speaker refers to a September Bulletin disclaimer which was clearly restricted to the article by Andrew Corsun in the August issue, but did not specifically address and retract the objectionable "Note" on page 35. It goes on to present this alleged "clarification":

"Neither the August footnote nor the article represent an effort to present the official position of the Department of State. Publication of the article and footnotes represent no policy change by the Department of State."

If this is intended as a retraction or disclaimer of the offending statement, it is a peculiarly obfuscatory one. The mention of the "article" and of "footnotes" would seem to limit the Department's "clarification" to the footnotes directly related to the article by Andrew Corsun, i.e. his footnotes or footnotes supposedly his. While the use of terms like "alleged" by Corsun was objectionable, the article was a signed piece and clearly "not necessarily" a statement of Department policy. Corsun's article was never at issue, nor were his footnotes.

What we objected to and still strongly object to is the clearly separated "Note" added after the article (on page 35) by someone in the Department, presumably intended as an additional comment by the Department and very obviously not a "footnote" to the article. Indeed the "Note" in question is a statement which claims to be made on behalf of the Department: "The Department of State does not endorse allegations that the Turkish Government committed a genocide

Offices in: Los Angeles • Toronto • Buenos Aires • London • Paris • Athens • Beirut • Teheran

D. McNamee

11/20/85

.../2

against the Armenian people.

Without belaboring the point, it seems quite clear that the Department's responses to date have attempted to avoid direct response or responsibility for the "Note," which was of course, an indefensible denial of reality that can only prove to be an embarrassment to the Department and to our country.

We believe it would be assuming too much for us to interpret Mr. Hughes' statement to Speaker O'Neill as an affirmation of past U.S. policy - as articulated especially by Presidents and members of Congress - recognize that the Armenian people were subjected to a planned and systematic genocide by the Fascist Turkish leaders in 1914-17. Also, the letter to the Speaker could not serve the purpose of a clear, unambiguous and unequivocal retraction in the Bulletin (where the original mis-statement appeared), nor could it possibly undo the harm done by the "Note" in misleading Bulletin readers. Only a clear and specific, prominently displayed statement in the Bulletin would do that and would be the only fair resolution of this matter, which has brought so much frustration and anguish to so many Americans.

We are enclosing, for your further information, to supplement your already extensive Department archives, a fact sheet on the Armenian Genocide which should help you to understand the depths of our feelings as well as the gross error of the "Note." As Americans, we feel that the Armenian Question - of which the genocide is only a part - is an important international issue that deserves your personal attention. As such, we encourage you to set aside the time to read fully yourself our Memorandum of January 25, 1983, and the enclosed supporting materials.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Armenian National Committee
Eastern United States

Aram H. Kailian, Chairman

enclosure

"Facts on the Armenian Genocide"

c.c. President Ronald Reagan
Presidential Assistant Jack Burgess
Assistant Secretary John Hughes
Counselor Edward Derwinski
Congressman Thomas P. O'Neill
Mr Kirk O'Donnell

Page 025 - 13739

FACTS ABOUT THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

In Response to Turkish Efforts to Distort the Truth

INTRODUCTION

There is an unconscionable and callous effort by the Turkish Government and some of its friends or agents to distort or even deny outright the truth about the planned Genocide of 1,500,000 Armenians by the Turks in 1915-17. The passage of time, neglect by many history books, general indifference, and other factors have resulted in a tendency by some less-informed newsmen or politicians to refer to the Genocide as "alleged" "claimed", "charged", "disputed", etc. rather than do even the very little research it would take to convince almost anyone that the Genocide of the Armenians is a fact. Denial by the criminal perpetrator in the face of overwhelming evidence does not constitute a legitimate "controversy".

The fact is that the Armenian Genocide is perhaps better documented than most such historical events. There are literally thousands of documents in the official archives of all major governments, including the U.S., as well as the testimony of neutral observers and even Germans (Turkey's allies); and the Genocide has been the subject of many books and articles, both at the time (especially 1915-1925) and more recently by experts writing on Genocide in general or about the subsequent Holocaust of the Jews, the Armenian massacres being regarded as the prototype of modern genocide.

In the following pages, we have cited only a very small sample of the sources available and have quoted only a few experts as illustrations of the evidence readily accessible to any concerned person. (We recommend interested persons consult the excellent bibliography, The Armenian Holocaust prepared by Prof. Richard Hovanissian and published by the National Association for Armenian Studies and Research, 175 Mt. Auburn Street, Cambridge, MA 02138.)

U.S. AMBASSADOR MORGENTHAU

U. S. Ambassador Henry Morgenthau, who was in Turkey from 1913-1916, had no question that the Turkish treatment of Armenians was part of a deliberate plan of extermination, as the following two quotes from his memoirs, Ambassador Morgenthau's Story (1918), illustrate:

"It is absurd of the Turkish Government to assert that it ever seriously intended to deport the Armenians to new homes; the treatment which was given the convoys clearly shows that extermination was the real purpose of Enver and Talaat."

"When the Turkish authorities gave the orders for these deportations, they were merely giving the death warrant to a whole race; they understood this well, and, in their conversations with me, they made no particular attempt to conceal the fact."

In his *The Tragedy of Armenia* (1918) also, Ambassador Morgenthau again expressed his firm conviction that the Armenians were the victims of a preconceived plan of annihilation and cited his sources of information about the massacres, their nature and their scope:

"During the spring of 1914 they evolved their plan to destroy the Armenian race."

"Now, as four of the Great Powers were at war with them and the two others were their allies, they thought the time opportune to make good the oversight of the ancestors in the fifteenth century. They concluded that, once they had carried out their plan, the Great Powers would find themselves before an accomplished fact and that their crime would be condoned . . ."

"Homes were literally uprooted; families were separated; men killed, women and girls violated daily on the way or taken to harems. Children were thrown into the rivers or sold to strangers by their mothers to save them from starvation. The facts contained in the reports received at the Embassy from absolutely trustworthy eye-witnesses surpass the most beastly and diabolical cruelties ever before perpetrated or imagined in the history of the world (underlined by the author). The Turkish authorities had stopped all communication between the provinces and the capital in the naive belief that they could consummate this crime of ages before the outside world could hear of it. But the information filtered through the Consuls, missionaries, foreign travellers and even Turks."

The entire chronology of the massacres was recorded by the American Ambassador, much of his information coming from American consular officials and missionaries in the interior. He cites the formation of the labor battalions and the eventual destruction of them, the systematic arrests and murders of the remaining able-bodied men, the unbelievable tortures, the deportations, the killings, the looting, the raping, and the forced starvation, deprivation and disease.

"From May until October the Ottoman Government pursued methodically a plan of extermination far more hellish than the worst possible massacre."

Orders for deportation of the entire Armenian population to Mesopotamia were dispatched to every province of Asia Minor. These orders were explicit and detailed. No hamlet was too insignificant to be missed. The news was given by town criers that every Armenian was to be ready to leave at a certain hour for an unknown destination. There were no exceptions for the aged, the ill, the women in pregnancy. (Ambassador Morgenthau's Story).

To this day, Turkish propagandists insist that the government's intent had been simply to "deport" Armenians from militarily sensitive areas to other areas, allegedly under government "protection", but this and all other fabrications about the "military" necessity of the 1915 events have been systematically rebuked by experts and observers, countless times.

NANSEN THE HUMANITARIAN

Fridtjof Nansen, the Norwegian scientist, statesman, the humanitarian, winner of the 1923 Nobel Peace Prize, and High Commissioner for Refugees for the League of Nations, has this to say about the deportations and their true intent in his Armenia and the Near East (New York).

"A foreign witness has said that these deportation columns were merely a polite form of massacre, but in reality they were infinitely worse and more heartless; for instead of instant death they forced the victims to undergo all sorts of inhuman sufferings, while this cowardly and barbarous plan was to save the face of the authorities by posing as a necessary military measure. From June till August, 1915, the hottest time of the year when the victims were most likely to succumb, these processions of death winded their way endlessly from all the vilayets and towns where there were Armenians southwards in the direction of the desert."

TOYNBEE THE HISTORIAN

In his Summary in the official British Blue Book of documents of the 1915 massacres (Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire), Arnold Toynbee systematically and thoroughly examines each of the major Turkish contentions regarding the war and Armenian "disloyalty" and dispels them, concluding:

"The various Turkish contentions thus fail, first to last, to meet the point. They all attempt to trace the atrocities of 1915 to events arising out of the war; but they not only cannot justify them on this ground, they do not even suggest any adequate motive for their perpetration. It is

evident that the war was merely an opportunity and not a cause - in fact, that the deportation scheme, and all that it involved, flowed inevitably from the general policy of the Young Turkish Government."

Toynbee also addressed the matter of official (governmental) planning and responsibility:

"In one way or another, the Central Government enforced and controlled the execution of the scheme, as it alone had originated the conception of it; and the Young Turkish Ministers and their associates at Constantinople are directly and personally responsible from beginning to end, for the gigantic crime that devastated the Near East in 1915."

In his last work before his death, Mankind and Mother Earth (New York/London, 1978), Toynbee provided this final matter-of-fact but very clear summary of the nature of the crimes of 1915:

"The atrociousness of the two great twentieth century wars was aggravated by genocide (i.e. the wholesale extermination of civilian populations). In the First World War the Turks committed genocide against the Armenians; in the Second World War, the Germans committed genocide against the Jews."

PRESENT-DAY EXPERTS

Many present-day historians, sociologists, and other experts have studied the Armenian Genocide, either as a phenomenon in and of itself or as a precedent to the Holocaust, or more often, as the prototype of modern genocide. In an over-all sense, the Armenian Genocide actually provided the initial impetus and motivation for Professor Rafael Lemkin's efforts which were eventually to culminate in the coining of the term, "genocide", and the development of the U.N. Convention (Treaty) Against Genocide.

Among such contemporary authorities is Professor Irving L. Horowitz, Hannah Arendt Distinguished Professor of Sociology and Political Science at Rutgers University. In his study Taking Lives: Genocide and State Power (Transaction Books, USA & UK, 1980), Horowitz has a lot to say about the Armenian massacres as the precedental genocide and of the long-term nature of Turkey's genocidal policy:

"Equally important, and far more ominous, was the final legacy of the Ottoman Empire. From the start of the century until its final demise in 1918, it bequeathed a policy of genocide on a scale

unparalleled in an earlier epoch. The destruction of the Armenians was an event whose magnitude was matched only by the silence of the civilized world too absorbed in its own horrors of World War I to realize the qualitative uniqueness involved in the mass extermination of the Armenian people."

"The genocide committed against the Armenian people illustrates how different facets of state authority, and even different state authorities as such, can generate an appropriate ideology to perform the necessary dirty work. The Turkish overseers began the destruction of the Armenian minority in the name of the Ottoman Empire. The Young Turks continued the process in the name of Turkish nationalism. The Kemalists completed this process in the name of development and hegemonic integration. Hence, between 1893 and 1923 roughly 1,800,000 Armenians were liquidated, while another 1,000,000 were exiled, without a single political or military elite within the state assuming responsibility for the termination of the slaughter, or for that matter, granting the Armenians national autonomy or territorial rights."

The fate of the Armenians is the essential prototype of genocide in the twentieth century."

First comes the fact and then comes the word. First a homicide is committed and then someone defines the conditions of murder. First genocide is committed and then a language emerges to describe the phenomenon. The Turkish assassination of the Armenians is a clear case of genocide prior to 1945."

Historian Dr. Howard Sachar (George Washington University) devotes considerable space to the Armenian Genocide in his Emergency of the Middle East 1914-1924 (Knopf, NY, 1969) and has this to say about the nature of the horrible events of 1915.

"The unfolding evidence of Armenian genocide was too palpable to be subject to Ottoman distortion. For now, indeed, in the spring of 1915, the storm of Turanian Xenophobia which had been gathering for decades over this vulnerable minority people was released with lethal and climactic savagery."

"By any standards this was surely the most unprecedented, indeed the most unimaginable racial annihilation, until then, in modern history. Nevertheless, apparently unconcerned by the enormity of their affront to civilization, the members of the Young Turk regime continued to view

the 'deportations' as nothing more than effective diplomacy, the realization of Abdul Hamid's injunction that 'the best way to finish with the Armenian Question is to finish with the Armenians'."

In discussing the Turkish Government's publication, in 1916, of a book designed to justify its crimes by purportedly "documenting" Armenian war-time treason and even "massacres of Turks" by Armenians - the same long-disproven charges repeated by Turkish propagandists today, Sachar says: "It was a fabrication from beginning to end."

Another authority, political sociologist Helen Fein, in her study of the Holocaust, Accounting for Genocide (Free Press/MacMillan, 1979), provides the following insights in her very thorough background treatment of the Armenian genocide:

"The victims of Twentieth-century premeditated genocide - the Jews, the Gypsies, the Armenians - were murdered in order to fulfill the state's design for a new order."

"War was used in both cases to transform the nation to correspond to the ruling elite's formula by eliminating groups conceived of as alien, enemies by definition."

"The fact that only 19% of the Armenians were estimated to have survived the Turkish genocide of 1915 testifies to how readily large and concentrated numbers of people, once identified and isolated, can be murdered without any mechanical means of extermination such as the Germans devised."

She also refers to the observations of the German Ambassador (Germany was Turkey's ally, of course) on the nature of the events of 1915-19:

"Count Wolf-Metternich understood that the Armenians' extermination was an end in itself to the ruling Triumvirate and its party, as well as a portent of things to come. He wrote the Reich Chancellor in June 1916:

'I have discussed with Talaat Bey and Hallil Bey the deportation of the Armenian workers from Amanos stretch, which deportation hampers the conduct of the war. These measures, I told the ministers, among other things, gave the impression as if the Turkish government were itself bent on losing the war . . . But no one any longer has the power to

control the many-headed hydra of the Committee, to control the chauvinism and the fanaticism . . . there is not much to gain from the Armenians . . . Turkification means to expel or kill everything non-Turkish".

A few additional quotes from current-day scholars whose views cannot be dismissed as "war-time propaganda" (as Turkish spokesman have charged in attempting to dismiss the writing of U.S. Ambassador Morgenthau, despite U.S. neutrality at the time) should be more than sufficient to make the point.

Brandeis University Chancellor, Abram L. Sachar, writes in the chapter "The Reaction of the West to Genocide" in his The Course of Our Times, (Alfred A. Knopf, NY 1972):

"It was left to the civilized twentieth century to invent the word 'genocide' to identify the action that seeks systematically to destroy a whole people. The Turks early in the century, were its first practitioners, the Nazis in mid-century gave it a horrible extension that eclipsed the earlier record."

"The Turkish victims numbered more than a million and a half Armenians, a gentle, highly cultured, industrious people who, in 1915, behind the facade of war, were methodically done to death."

The noted authorities on Nazi Germany and authors of several related works, Roger Manvell and Heinrich Fraenkel, have this to say in The Incomparable Crime, about the Holocaust (Putman, 1967):

"In 1915 there occurred a 'final solution' which is now almost forgotten, the deliberate extermination of the Armenians by the Turks. The Armenian 'problem' was solved by the massacre or deportation of some 1,750,000 men, women and children from the Armenian provinces of Turkey. Over a million died or disappeared through massacres in Turkey or during the forced marches to the deserts of the Turkish eastern territories-the areas which were later to become Syria and Iraq."

Princeton University's Ulrich Trumpener, in his Germany and the Ottoman Empire, 1914-1918 (Princeton, 1968), makes extensive use of statements by German officials who confirm the intent and result of the "deportation" scheme while bemoaning the fact that "as regrettable as it is from the Christian standpoint that innocent people, too, must suffer under the Turkish measures, the Armenians are after all less close to us than our sons and brothers being indirectly aided by the military help of the Turks." This callous attitude of one of the Kaiser's

representatives sound together too much like the political or military reasoning which may be behind the seeming willingness of some U.S. officials to aid and abet the Turkish cover-up of the murder of 1,500,000 Armenian men, women and children.

WINSTON CHURCHILL

In his history of World War I, The World Crisis, published in 1929 (Seibners, N.Y.) and clearly not "war-time propaganda", Winston S. Churchill described the Armenian massacres (Volume V, "The Aftermath"):

"In 1915, the Turkish Government began, and ruthlessly carried out, the infamous general massacre and deportation of Armenians in Asia Minor. Three or four hundred thousand men, women and children escaped into Russian territory and others into Persia or Mesopotamia; but the clearance of the race from Asia Minor was about as complete as such an act, on a scale so great, could well be. It is supposed that about one and a quarter millions of Armenians were involved, of whom more than half perished. There is no reasonable doubt that this crime was planned and executed for political reasons."

"Out of a community of about two and a half millions, three-quarters of a million men, women and children had perished. But surely this was the end."

"... the Armenians and their tribulations were well known throughout England and the United States. This field of interest was lighted by the lamps of religion, philanthropy, and politics. Atrocities perpetrated upon Armenians stirred the ire of simple and chivalrous men and women spread widely about the English-speaking world."

Churchill also described the Post-World War I period and the continuing pattern of massacres, as well as the Turkish Kemalist destruction of the newly-created independent Armenian Republic (1918-1920):

"Already nearly a year before, in January, 1920, the Turks had attacked the French in Cilicia, driven them out of the Marash district and massacred nearly fifty thousand Armenian inhabitants. In May, Bolshevik troops invaded and subjugated the Republic of Erivan (Armenia). In September, by collusion between the Bolsheviks and Turks, Erivan was delivered to the Turkish Nationalists; and as in Cilicia, another extensive massacre of Armenians accompanied the military operations."

The fact is that Armenians endured nearly a century of "rule by massacre" which began in the nineteenth century and continued into the Kemalist period, with The Genocide of 1915-1917 being the most notorious manifestation of Turkish racism and brutality.

CARDINAL CUSHING

In a statement appearing in the April 24, 1965 issue of the "The Pilot" (Boston's archdiocesan newspaper), the late Richard Cardinal Cushing marked the fiftieth anniversary commemoration of the Armenian Genocide, which he described as "well-planned" and "unprovoked". The beloved Cardinal, who on the same day sponsored a pontifical solemn high mass in memory of the victims, described the Armenian massacres in these terms in his statement in The Pilot:

"The Turkish violence against the Armenians lasted from 1915 to 1918. Almost 2,000,000 people were killed or deported by the Turks."

"This Armenian massacre was really 'genocide'; it was an attempt to extinguish an entire race of people, as such. The sole crime of the martyred people was that they were Armenians."

EYEWITNESSES TO HORROR

Yes, they were killed because they were Armenians. But those who suffered and died were not simply "Armenians", but people-human beings like us, like you. Indeed, in focusing on statements dealing with the overwhelming fact of the genocide, its planned nature, or its numerical or geographical scope, there is a danger of losing sight of the individual human suffering referred to by such phrases as "untold horrors", "unparalleled brutality", "hellish massacres", "lethal savagery", "unimaginable racial annihilation", etc. Literally thousands of pages of eyewitness descriptions and survivor testimony could be provided, but the following few brief excerpts from the previously-cited official British Blue Book, compiled by Arnold Toynbee at the direction of Lord Bryce, provide some idea of the shocking treatment of the Armenians by the Turks".

"...The girls have been outraged mercilessly; we have seen their mutilated corpses tied together in batches of four, eight or ten, and cast into the Euphrates. The majority had been mutilated in an indescribable manner."

"...It was a very common thing for them to rape our girls in our presence. Very often they violated eight or ten-year-old girls, and as a consequence many would be unable to walk, and were shot."

"... she shuddered to recall how hundreds of children were bayoneted by the Turks and thrown into the Euphrates, and how men and women were stripped naked, tied together in hundreds, shot and then hurled into the river."

"... He told how, at each village, the women had been violated; ... how children had had their brains battered out when they cried or hindered the march."

"... The condemned were stripped of all but their underclothing and led to the brink of a great ditch. There they knelt with their hands bound behind their back and were despatched by axe-blows on the head."

The following, slightly longer extracts from statements by foreign witnesses are from the same reports:

"In Harpoot and Mezre the people have had to endure terrible tortures. They have had their eyebrows plucked out, their breasts cut off, their nails torn off; their torturers hew off their feet or else hammer nails into them just as they do in shoeing horses. This is all done at nighttime, and in order that the people may not hear their screams and know their agony, soldiers are stationed round the prisons, beating drums and blowing whistles. . . Harpoot has become the cemetery of the Armenians."

(From a Statement by a German eyewitness . . . communicated by the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief).

"... In another camp we found thirty or forty thousand Armenians. I was able to distribute bread among them. Desperate and half-starved, they fell upon it. . . I often saw them break down under their burden, but the soldiers kept on driving them forward with the butt-ends of their rifles, even sometimes with their bayonets. I have dressed bleeding wounds on the bodies of women that had been caused by these bayonet thrusts."

(From a Report by Fraulein M., a Swiss resident in Turkey, dated 16th November, 1915).

"At the first large station a sight burst upon my view which, although I knew and was prepared for it, was nevertheless a shock. There was a mob of a thousand or more people huddled about the station

and environs, and long strings of cattle-trucks packed to suffocation with human beings. It was the first glimpse of the actual deportation of the Armenians . . . There was no confusion, no wailing, no shouting, just a mob of subdued people, dejected, sad, hopeless, past tears . . ."

(From a Narrative of a journey . . . by a physician resident in Turkey for ten years).

In volume III of the seven-volume Source Records of the Great War (The American Legion, Indianapolis, 1931), in which Talat Pasha's infamous extermination orders are reprinted, there appears a statement by Dr. Martin Niepage, a German eyewitness who had served as a teacher at Aleppo. Germany was Turkey's ally but many German missionaries and others recorded with horror what they witnessed, as does Dr. Niepage in this graphic excerpt:

"When I returned to Aleppo in September, 1915, from a three months' holiday at Beirut, I heard with horror that a new phase of Armenian massacres had begun which were far more terrible than the earlier massacres under Abdul-Hamid, and which aimed at exterminating, root and branch, the intelligent, industrious, and progressive Armenian nation, and at transferring its property to Turkish hands."

"What we saw with our own eyes here in Aleppo was really only the last scene in the great tragedy of the extermination of the Armenians. It was only a minute fraction of the horrible drama that was being played out simultaneously in all the other provinces in Turkey. Many more appalling things were reported by the engineers of the Bagdad Railway, when they came back from their work on the section under construction, or by German travelers who met the convoys of exiles on their journeys. Many of these gentlemen had seen such appalling sights that they could eat nothing for days.

"One of them, Herr Greif, of Aleppo, reported corpses of violated women lying about naked in heaps on the railway embankment at Tell-Abiad and Ras-e' Ain. Another, Herr Spiecker, of Aleppo, had seen Turks tie Armenian men together, fire several volleys of small shot with fowling pieces into the human mass, and go off laughing while their victims slowly perished in frightful convulsions. Other men had their hands tied behind their back and were rolled down steep cliffs. Women were standing below, and slashed those who had rolled down with knives until they were dead."

"The German Consul from Mosul related, in my presence, at the German club at Aleppo that, in many places on the road from Mosul to Aleppo, he had seen children's hands lying hacked off in such numbers that one could have paved the road with them. In the German hospital at Ourfa there was a little girl who had had both her hands hacked off."

"In many Christian houses in Aleppo I found Armenian girls hidden who by some chance had escaped death; either they had been left lying exhausted and had been taken for dead when their companions had been driven on, or in other cases, Europeans had found an opportunity to buy the poor creatures for a few marks from the last Turkish soldier who had violated them. All these girls showed symptoms of mental derangement; many of them had had to watch the Turks cut their parents' throats. I know poor things who have not had a single word coaxed out of them for months, and not a smile to this moment."

"A German I know saw hundreds of Christian peasant women who were compelled, near Ourfa, to strip naked by the Turkish soldiers. For the amusement of the soldiers they had to drag themselves through the desert in this condition for days together in a temperature of 40 Centigrade, until their skins were completely scorched. Another witness saw a Turk tear a child out of its Armenian mother's womb and hurl it against the wall."

"There are other occurrences, worse than these few examples which I give here, recorded in the numerous reports which have been sent in to the Embassy from the German Consulates at Alexandretta, Aleppo and Mosul. The Consuls are of opinion that, so far, probably about one million Armenians have perished in the massacres of the last few months. Of this number, one must reckon that at least half are women and children who have either been murdered or have succumbed to starvation."

"The object of the deportations is the extermination of the whole Armenian nation. This purpose is also proved by the fact that the Turkish Government declines all assistance from Missionaries, Sisters of Mercy and European residents in the country, and systematically tries to stop their work."

Another eyewitness and a survivor, Rev. Abraham Hartunian recorded his own experiences during the genocide, published as Neither to Laugh Nor To Weep (Beacon Press, Boston, 1968),

translated by Reverend Vartan Hartunian, his son and also a minister. His book provides this picture of the incredible savagery to which his people were subjected:

"Many of our teachers, professors, and doctors--those of the educated class--were captured and with the words 'So you are the intellect of this people!' had their heads placed in vises and squeezed till they burst."

"Many children were herded out of the deserts, thrown alive, into ditches, and covered over with dirt and sand, to smother beneath the earth. Many were thrown into rivers or dashed to the ground. Many were killed by ripping their jaws and tearing their faces in half."

"Many women were stripped naked and lined up, and, their abdomens slashed one by one, were thrown in ditches and wells to die in infinite agony. The kaymakam of Der-el-Zor, holding a fifteen-year-old girl before him, directed his words to a murderous band and then, throwing her to the ground, clubbed her to death with the order, 'so you must kill all Armenians, without remorse.'"

"To save bullets, many Armenians were stoned and hacked with axes."

"Convoy after convoy was driven night and day unceasingly, robbed, raped, then brought to the edge of streams and forbidden to drink at the point of the gun. Under the burning sun, thousands perished from hunger and thirst."

"Many were gathered in one place and burned alive. One of these, left half dead and later rescued, told me that for days she had remained with the corpses and had lived by eating their flesh."

Perhaps this is enough description for now. It is however, only minute fraction of the chronicle of horrors which survivors and eyewitnesses have provided for those who care to try to understand this unprecedented inhumanity by man against man. Some exposure to these brutalities is essential to appreciate the personal hurt, the sense of violation, and ultimately outrage and frustration which Turkish denial of the genocide causes for Armenians, the vast majority of whom know that their parents, grandparents, and other relatives suffered experiences such as those described above.

The fact that the Turks were able to "get away with murder" during World War I encouraged the Nazis to undertake similar crimes in World War II. If the Turks are now able to re-write

the facts and escape even the judgment of history, then that in turn will encourage those who would re-write the history of the Holocaust or other such tragedies.

Let us respond to Adolf Hitler's chilling question:

"Who still talks nowadays of the extermination of the Armenians?" (Obersalzberg, August 22, 1939).

Let us answer: We do! And we will not let history be rewritten or forgotten!

Act now! Protest against Turkish distortions! Insist that our own government not permit political or strategic considerations to allow the U.S. to become involved or implicated at all in such efforts to subvert and deny the truth.

Stop the big lie!

"THOSE WHO DO NOT REMEMBER THE PAST ARE CONDEMNED TO RELIVE IT." (Santayana)

ARMENIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
EASTERN REGION, UNITED STATES
FEBRUARY, 1983

030 025-1753

ARMENIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Control Office:

212 STUART STREET, BOSTON, MASS. 02116 • TEL. (617) 426-9842

January 25, 1983

TO: Honorable George P. Shultz, Secretary of State
FROM: Armenian National Committee
Eastern United States
SUBJECT: State Department Denial of Genocide

As an American branch of the major political organization among Armenians in the Diaspora, we are writing to seek corrective action on a matter of grave importance to the nearly one million Americans of Armenian background, to the seven million Armenians world-wide, and potentially to millions of other Americans and to other governments and their citizens.

The problem concerns our State Department taking a position which not only appears to defy an almost universally-accepted historic fact but also seems to condone genocide by joining the perpetrators in covering up the crime. Such an indefensible and insensitive position can only harm the United States' image and position. We are referring specifically to this "Note" which appears at the end of a report by Andrew Corsun on "Armenian Terrorism", in the August, 1982 issue of the State Department Bulletin:

"Because the historical record of the 1915 events in Asia Minor is ambiguous, the Department of State does not endorse allegations that the Turkish Government committed a genocide against the Armenian people. Armenian terrorists use this allegation to justify in part their continuing attacks on Turkish diplomats and installations."
(underlining added)

Offices in: Los Angeles • Toronto • Buenos Aires • London • Paris • Athens • Beirut • Teheran

To label the genocide of the Armenians an "allegation" is as shocking and irresponsible as claiming that the earth is flat, or more appropriately, that the Holocaust of the Jews is a myth.

If the Armenian Genocide, probably one of the most extensively documented occurrences in modern history, is an "allegation", the Department of State might presumably also deny the realities of Black slavery in America, the internment of the Japanese-Americans during World War II and other such events.

Before proceeding, we should point out that the apparent delay in our writing to you is that the Armenian National Committee (ANC) has been involved in direct discussion on this matter with Mr. Michael Cotter and other State Department officers. We had expected that something so clearly wrong would not have gone uncorrected so long. Now we must follow up our earlier contacts (and letters) with this formal memorandum.

Secretary Shultz, you know, as we do, that there is nothing "ambiguous" about the "historical record of the 1915 events in Asia Minor" and that, except for the Turkish Government and a very small handful of their apologists or paid propagandists, no responsible person and certainly no expert on genocide or on that period of history has any doubts about what happened in 1915. Does the denial of the Nazi Holocaust by a few anti-Semites render the historical record "ambiguous"? Of course not. In this case, politically-motivated or psychopathic denials must not be confused with the "historical record". The fact that the massacres occurred and that the Turkish Government's plan was one of Genocide is more than adequately documented and is

universally-acknowledged (except for the Turks). The intent of the Turkish Government to destroy the Armenian people is attested to by orders that have been preserved, as well as the observations and records of prominent European and American individuals and agencies, including our own (U.S.) Ambassador to Turkey (1913-1916), Henry Morgenthau, and the U.S. Consular officials who reported to him. Indeed, the national Archives of the United States, including the general records of the State Department, include extensive documentation of the nature and scope of the Turkish crime against the Armenian people. The bibliography, The Armenian Holocaust by Richard Hovannisian, (NAASR, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1978) devotes several pages to a listing of numerous files of the State Department from that period containing literally thousands of documents dealing with the horrible events of 1915, and the years that preceded and followed it.

Distinct from the total indefensibility of the statement as a denial of reality is the fact that it also runs counter to decades of American policy as voiced in the statements and actions of Presidents and of Congress. Even within the past decade, American Presidents, including both Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan, have recognized the fact of the Armenian Genocide and commented on it in rather strong and clear words, and there have been many instances of official and quasi-official recognition of the historical reality and significance of the Armenian genocide.

In a statement issued to our organization on

October 22, 1976, Jimmy Carter said:

"The history of Armenia, extending over 3,000 years, is one of survival against overwhelming odds, victory over oppressors, and tragic human suffering."

"The Armenian people have consistently demonstrated an indomitable spirit and a dedication to the cause of freedom, as exemplified by the creation of a Republic following the 1915-1917 bloodbath.

"An estimated one and a half million persons were murdered during the first genocide of the 20th century, yet even though the tragedy of history has not been corrected, Armenians, wherever they are, continue to maintain their culture and strong desire for freedom."

Just the year before (1975), the U.S. House of Representatives adopted HJR 148 designating April 24, 1975, a "National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man", to remember "all the victims of genocide, especially those of Armenian ancestry who succumbed to the genocide perpetrated in 1915".

In encouraging the adoption of HJR 148, House Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill co-signed a February 21, 1975 letter to all members of Congress which stated:

"We must not allow the 1915 atrocities to be relegated to oblivion because there is no Armenia in the United Nations to represent the Armenian people. There is ample historical evidence of the deliberate attempt to exterminate the Armenian Nation which cannot and should not be ignored."

Speaker O'Neill used virtually the same words in a statement issued earlier to the Armenian Youth Federation.

On May 11, 1976 and August 30, 1976, the Subcommittee on Future Foreign Policy Research and Development, of the U.S. House

Committee on International Relations held a hearing on "Certain Past Instances of Genocide and Exploration of Policy Options for the Future." The May 11th hearing was devoted exclusively to the Armenian Genocide and the August 30th hearing to the Holocaust of the Jews. In both cases, experts and community spokesmen testified and the record of those hearings is available (U.S. GPO #77-888, Washington, 1976). It should be noted that there were also statements submitted for the record by such men as then - U.S. Representative Edward J. Derwinski, who began with: "Mr. Chairman, in this hearing on the subject of the suffering of millions of Armenians 61 years ago, we note what is properly regarded as the first Tragedy of deliberate genocide in the 20th century - the ruthless massacre of the Armenian people by the Ottoman government". He continued "The Turks set out to exterminate the whole Armenian christian population within its borders and called for the elimination of some two million Armenians in the Ottoman Empire through deportation, contrived famine, and large scale massacres."

In an April 15, 1980 letter to Hairenik, a Boston-based Armenian newspaper, Ronald Reagan made the following statements and promises, now directly contradicted by the State Department disclaimer and the total lack of meaningful positive activity by the U.S. to peacefully resolve the Armenian Question. Relevant portions of the Reagan letter are here quoted verbatim:

"Sixty-five years ago one of the greatest tragedies in the annals of recorded history occurred when one and half million innocent Armenian men, women and children were massacred in the shadow of Mt. Ararat."

"Their only crime was their century-old dedication to live their lives as free Armenians, professing their Christian beliefs, in a homeland that had previously dazzled Asia Minor with its prominence and power."

"The 1980's must be that period when the voices of Americans of Armenian ancestry are heard in the councils of government. It must be that period when Americans and its allies throughout the Free World resolve that the tragedy of 1915 never again be repeated."

"I join with the American Armenian community in solemn remembrance of the martyrs of 1915."

Since some might be inclined to dismiss the Reagan or Carter statements as campaign rhetoric, it is worth noting that, even after his election, President Reagan has acknowledged the Armenian Genocide. For instance in Proclamation 4838, issued on April 22, 1981, to proclaim April 26 - May 3 as "Days of Remembrance of Victims of Holocaust", in which the precedential significance of the Armenian Genocide is clearly indicated by our President:

"Like the genocide of the Armenians before it, and the genocide of the Cambodians which followed it and like too many other such persecutions of too many other peoples - the lessons of the Holocaust must never be forgotten."

The same was true of President Carter. For instance, the Public Papers of the Presidents: Jimmy Carter, Vol. I (1973), records the following remarks by President Carter at a May 16, 1978, White House reception honoring Armenian-American business, industry, labor, education, civil and religious leaders:

"But it's generally not known in the world that in the years preceding 1916, there was a concerted effort made to eliminate all the Armenian people, probably one of the greatest tragedies that ever befell any group. And there weren't any Nuremberg Trials."

I feel very deeply that I, as President,

On Armenian Memorial Day, April 24, 1980, U.S. Holocaust Council Director Monroe H. Freedman, spoke in New York and in a subsequently distributed statement said, "Today, we recall in sorrow the million and a half Armenians who were tortured, starved and butchered to death in the first genocide of the twentieth century."

The 1980 edition of the semi-official Area Handbook on Turkey, prepared by American University (Foreign Area Studies) and published by and for the U.S. Department of the Army, is quite clear when it states that the Ottoman Government in 1915-16 "undertook to exterminate or forcefully remove the entire Armenian population in the area." Elsewhere in the same book, these experts on Turkey describe the "massive deportation of as many as two million Armenians" undertaken in 1915 and how "it shortly degenerated into a massacre." As to numbers killed, the Area Handbook says, "The most conservative estimates put the number of dead at 500,000, but other sources cite a figure well over one million.

Going back some 60 years, the official American Military Mission to Armenia, headed by Major General John G. Harbord, reported these findings to the U.S. Senate on April 13, 1920.

"Massacres and deportations were organized in the Spring of 1915 under definite system, the soldiers going from town to town."

"The dead from this wholesale attempt on the race are variously estimated from 500,000 to more than a million . . ."

"Mutilation, violation, torture, and death has left their haunting memories in a hundred beautiful Armenian valleys, and the traveler in that region is seldom free from the evidence of this most colossal crime of all the ages."

"Testimony is universal that the massacres have always been ordered from Constantinople."

We have, of course, no doubt that you and the Department are fully aware of the horrors that the Armenian people suffered in 1915-20 or that these unprecedented crimes were the result of a Turkish government policy of genocide designed to "solve the Armenian Problem" by eliminating the Armenians.

We suspect and fear that whoever is responsible for the Department's seeming cover-up of this century's first genocide may have acted out of a misguided effort to placate Turkey's military junta for strategic (basically military) reasons. We are, however, not convinced that officials at your level are fully aware of this "policy" or, if so, have thought through its moral and political implications and potential repercussions. Moreover, as Americans, we feel a sense of shame at such an apparent subversion of the truth by our own government and feel compelled to help you retrieve America's honor by somehow correcting this grave error.

It should be understood that, in our view, the seriousness of the Department's statement does not derive only from the inexcusable denial of a historic fact, but from its current effect of supporting and aiding the ongoing process of planned genocide.

Indeed, to us and informed observers, the Armenian Genocide is not just history but a continuous process which began in 1915 with the systematic mass killing (themselves the culmination of decades of rule-by-massacre), continued through the Kemalist assaults and massacres (including the destruction of the independent Armenian Republic), the dispersal of the survivors so that Turkish-occupied Armenia was left with virtually no Armenians (part of the racist geo-political "pan-Turkish" design), then the still-continuing destruction or misrepresentation of Armenian architectural monuments and the Turkification of place-names (all to destroy any vestige of an Armenian presence), and now to cover-up and denial. This most recent phase, which has intensified in the early 1960's, involves an active harassment and propaganda campaign designed to intimidate Armenians from publicly commemorating their martyrs and to pressure governments and others to either join in or tolerate Turkey's pathological cover-up that alternately denies that any massacre occurred or that it was a "planned" genocide, at times even claims Armenians massacred Turks (even "two million" has been claimed), or sometimes asserts Armenians never lived in "Eastern Turkey" or that Armenians never even existed! This cover-up, this denial of the existence of the crime or even of its victims, is unquestionably part of the final phase in the continuing Turkish crime against the Armenian people, and the U.S. State Department has (we hope unwittingly) become an accomplice in this continuing genocidal plan by assisting in the cover-up. Every time someone, especially the U.S. State

groups made it clear that their initial actions were in direct response to such Turkish provocation, particularly the 1974 effort to censor a U.N. Human Rights Commission sub-committee report on Genocide which accurately described the Armenian massacres as "the first genocide of the Twentieth century." Secretary Shultz, if the limited acts of a few individuals or small groups outraged by Turkish denials and avoidance of responsibility is "terrorism" (which it is), what word can possibly describe the present Turkish Government's cover-up 1.5 million murders, refusal to deal openly with its problems, or its harassment and intimidation of the survivors and their descendants, even in the U.S.?

In fact, in sharp contrast to modern Germany's atonement and its behavior toward the Jews and Israel, today's Turkey honors the memory of the arch-criminal Talaat Pasha with a monument, memorials, and the like. What would be the reaction of world Jewry or of others if present-day Germany so honored Hitler, denied the Holocaust, and committed other such crimes which Turkey commits today against its Armenian victims?

In summary, whether Armenian terrorists "use" the fact of Genocide to "justify in part" their actions does not justify the U.S. government ignoring the overwhelming historical evidence, unashamedly labeling it "ambiguous", and describing the planned and brutal murders of 1.5 million men, women and children as an "allegation".

If the intent of taking such an indefensible position, one so embarrassing to the credibility of the U.S., is to discourage

Department, refers to the Armenian Genocide as an "allegation" or a "claim" or even a "controveray", Turkey's diabolical scheme to bury, re-write or raise doubts about the truth, and thereby evade responsibility, is given undeserved credibility.

As Americans, we also find it frightening to contemplate the possibility that the Turks and even some of the more "cooperative" U.S. officials may in fact be attempting to provoke violent reactions to discredit the Armenian Cause. More specifically, we are particularly concerned that the "Note" denying the genocide on behalf of the Department may be part of an effort to deliberately provoke extremists into retaliating against American diplomats, thereby turning American public and legislative opinion against the just cause and aspirations of the Armenian people. These same people may be behind hyperbolic assertions that Armenian Terrorism is a threat to U.S. security and (perhaps self-fulfilling) predictions that U.S. diplomats may fall victim to Armenian extremists.

In connection, it is worth noting that "studies" and "hearings" on Armenian terrorism (which our tax dollars presumably pay for) fail to point out an important and easily documented fact: that the intensification of Turkish intervention in Armenian efforts to commemorate their martyrs, for instance by building memorials to the 1915 victims (e.g. in Montebello, California) and of the Turkish Government's propaganda campaign of denial and distortion actually preceded by more than a decade the earliest acts attributed to organized Armenian terrorists (1975). Indeed, statements issued by such

terrorism, the record shows that the opposite is true. If the intent is simply to placate the Turks for strategic reasons (NATO, etc.), becoming a willing accomplice in the cover-up of mass murder is too much to ask American citizens to accept as the price of Turkish blackmail.

We need not recite the record once more. The fact is that the Genocide of 1915 occurred. The events as well as the motivation and nature of those events are documented by a large number of non-Armenian and non-Turkish eyewitnesses and on-the-scene observers have provided us with a very reliable record. These include U.S. Ambassador Morgenthau, whose reports and later writings were based on U.S. consular dispatches. The U.S. archives themselves also provide extensive documentation. League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Nansen, the German Dr. Lepsius, Herbert A. Gibbons, Arnold Toynbee, Winston Churchill, and many others of that period also described the horrors of the Turkish Genocide of the Armenians.

Present-day experts on the Holocaust and on Genocide (Horowitz, Fein, Sachar, etc.) recognize the genocidal intent and nature of the Armenian massacres of 1915 and regard it as "the prototype of twentieth century genocide." As we have noted, President Reagan and virtually all U.S. presidents have spoken of the Armenian Genocide, and within the past decade, a U.S. House of Representatives adopted HJR 148 the honoring the 1915 Armenian victims of Genocide.

This is the first time, to our knowledge, that someone speaking on behalf of the U.S. Department of State has actually

taken the official position that the Genocide of 1.5 million Armenians did not occur.

However, having taken such a stand (or by allowing a statement to that effect to be published), the Department is obligated to go beyond a mechanical retraction. We expect, at the least, both a retraction and a clear, unequivocal statement acknowledging the Armenian Genocide as a historical fact, i.e. to fully correct the official record as reflected in the August "Note." The retraction should at least appear in the State Department Bulletin, as did the "Note". An affirmation of the historic facts - to counter the damage done by the "Note" - could be in the form of a statement by you, as Secretary, or by the President, and might also appear in the Bulletin.

As Americans, we are concerned that this total reversal and rejection of America's historic (past) role as a champion of the Armenian people and its rights will further strengthen the more recent perception of America as blindly pro-Turkish and indifferent to Armenian concerns, thereby pushing the world's six to seven million strategically-located Armenians further away from their traditional western orientation.

Finally and most important for all of our fellow Americans to recognize is that forces in the State Department and or the Defense Department may have succeeded in using misrepresentations and distorted notions of "national security" to in fact subordinate American interests to the whims of the Turkish military junta, for certainly America itself has nothing to gain from denying the Armenian Genocide.

Instead of joining Turkey in her psychopathic Genocide, American officials could serve the interests of the U.S. and its Turkish "ally" better by encouraging Turkey to face reality as the U.S. has done.

Affirmative action, for instance, is an implicit recognition of guilt arising from American enslavement of blacks and subsequent Jim Crow laws. Also, a special governmental commission has held hearings and is now recommending compensation for Japanese Americans interned is one of the darkest pages of our history.

Native Americans (Indians) are having their lands restored receiving compensation (reparations), and having old treaty rights recognized through American courts.

Americans have not hidden from the moral responsibilities inherent in the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki or in crimes committed by American soldiers against Vietnamese civilians. Our history or sociology books do not ignore such episodes in American history as the Oriental Exclusion Acts, lynchings and other expressions of racism, anti-Catholic or anti-Irish riots, anti-Semitism, restrictive housing covenants (aimed at Armenians as well as blacks and Jews), and other such distasteful but very real chapters in our continuing evolution toward the still-to-be-realized ideal.

It would seem that the American example of acknowledging and coming to grips with the past and attempting to compensate for or correct it - should be shared with Turkish officials. Instead, it appears that American officials may have allowed themselves to

be drawn into a preposterous but ugly and clearly counterproductive uniquely Turkish denial of reality. (The same Turkish junta denies the very existence of some eight million Kurds in Turkey and to enforce this denial, considers it a crime to speak Kurdish, use Kurdish names, or even to say "I am a Kurd.")

Finally, a word should be said on the human cost of the State Department's denial. Any review of the eyewitness accounts in the official British "Blue Book" on the 1915 massacres or in the many other sources of such accounts would help Department officials to understand the horrors and brutalities to which our parents and grandparents were subjected and thereby, appreciate how painful the Department "Note" was to us as descendants and how particularly devastating it was to those elderly persons who are actually survivors of the Armenian holocaust. They call us, write to us, or stop us on the street and ask: "Do they think I imagined all of that? Were my parents not beheaded in front of me? Was I not left in the desert to die? And what of my scars?" How shall we answer them, Mr. Secretary?

Viewed in terms of international morality, the seriousness of this denial cannot be overstated. It must not only be corrected fully and clearly, without equivocation, but those harmed by it - harmed in terms of mental anguish and perhaps worse - deserve an apology that recognizes the seriousness of such insensitivity to the unprecedented human suffering which they and their parents or grandparents had experienced.

Mr. Secretary, whatever the State Department may or may not say about it, the Armenian Genocide is a fact. But, as Americans, we must insist that the Department reverse its untenable and callous denial of 1.5 million murders for the sake of historic truth and for the sake of America's integrity and genuine national interests.

We await your action and your written response and would welcome the opportunity to meet with you directly.

Sincerely yours,

ARMENIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
EASTERN UNITED STATES

Leo SARKISIAN

Leo Sarkisian,
Public Information

jw
Enclosure

• Please Address Response to: Aram Kallian, Chairman at the address above.

THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE: SELECTED STATEMENTS

—Quotes from non-Armenian observers and experts on "the first genocide of the twentieth century", in which over one and a half million Armenians were systematically annihilated by the Turks (1915-1917)—

"By any standards this was surely the most unprecedented, indeed the most unimaginable racial extermination, until then, in modern history. Nevertheless, apparently unconcerned by the enormity of their affront to civilization, the members of the Young Turk regime continued to view the 'deportations' as nothing more than effective diplomacy, the realization of Abdul Hamid's injunction that 'the best way to finish with the Armenian Question is to finish with the Armenians'."

Howard M. Sachar
Emergence of the Middle East 1914-1924
(Knopf, 1969)

"From May until October the Ottoman Government pursued methodically a plan of extermination far more heinous than the worst possible massacre. Orders for deportation of the entire Armenian population to Mesopotamia were despatched to every province of Asia Minor. These orders were explicit and detailed. No hamlet was too insignificant to be missed. The news was given by town criers that every Armenian was to be ready to leave at a certain hour for an unknown destination. There were no exceptions for the aged, the ill, the women in pregnancy."

Dr. Herbert A. Gibbons,
The Blackest Page of Modern History
(Putnam, New York 1916)

"In 1915 there occurred a 'final solution' which is now almost forgotten, the deliberate extermination of the Armenians by the Turks. The Armenian 'problem' was solved by the massacre or deportation of so many 750,000 men, women and children from the Armenian provinces of Turkey. Over a million died or disappeared through massacres in Turkey or during the forced marches to the deserts of the Turkish eastern territories—the areas which were later to become Syria and Iraq."

Roger Manvell and Heinrich Fraenkel,
The Incomparable Crime
(Putman 1967)

"A foreign witness has said that these deportation columns were merely a polite form of massacre, but in reality they were infinitely worse and more heartless; for instead of instant death they forced the victims to undergo all sorts of inhuman sufferings, while this cowardly and barbarous plan was to save the face of the authorities by posing as a necessary military measure. From June till August 1915, the hottest time of year when the victims were most likely to succumb, these processions of death wended their way endlessly from all the vilayets and towns where there were Armenians southwards in the direction of the desert."

Fridtjof Nansen
(High Commissioner for Refugees, League of Nations)
Armenia and the Near East
(New York 1928)

"The atrociousness of the two great twentieth century wars was aggravated by 'genocide' (i.e. the wholesale extermination of civilian populations). In the First World War the Turks committed genocide against the Armenians; in the Second World War, the Germans committed genocide against the Jews."

Arnold J. Toynbee,
Monks and Mother Earth, Oxford
(University Press, NY/London, 1976)

"When the Turkish authorities gave the orders for these deportations, they were merely giving the death warrant to a whole race, they understood this well, and, in their conversations with me, they made no particular attempt to conceal the fact."

"I have by no means told the most terrible details, for a complete narration of the sadistic orgies of which these Armenian men and women were the victims can never be printed in an American publication. Whatever crimes the most perverted instincts of the human mind can devise, and whatever refinements of persecutions and injustice the most debased imagination can conceive, became the daily misfortunes of this devoted people. I am confident that the whole history of the human race contains no such horrible episode as this. The great massacres and persecutions of the past seem almost insignificant when compared to the sufferings of the Armenian race in 1915."

Henry Morgenthau
(U.S. Ambassador to Turkey, 1913-1916)
Ambassador Morgenthau's Story
(Doubleday, Garden City 1918)

"It was left to the civilized twentieth century to invent the word 'genocide' to identify the action that seeks systematically to destroy a whole people. The Turks, early in the century, were its first practitioners; the Nazis in mid-century gave it a horrible extension that eclipsed the earlier record."

"The Turkish victims numbered more than a million and a half Armenians, a gentle, highly cultured, industrious people who, in 1915, behind the facade of war, were methodically done to death."

"The Reaction of the West to Genocide" in
Abram L. Sachar, *The Course of Our Times*,
(Knopf, N.Y., 1972)

"The victims of Twentieth-century premeditated genocide—the Jews, the Gypsies, the Armenians—were murdered in order to fulfill the state's design for a new order."

"War was used in both cases to transform the nation to correspond to the ruling elite's formula by eliminating groups conceived of as alien, enemies by definition."

Heien Fein
Accounting for Genocide
(Victims and Survivors of the Holocaust)
(Free Press Macmillan, N.Y., 1979)

ARMENIAN
NATIONAL COMMITTEE
212 STUART STREET, BOSTON, MASS. 02116

EXPRESS MAIL POST OFFICE TO ADDRESSEE

01319203

TO REMOVE LABEL BACK HERE

DELIVERY WAS ATTEMPTED

EXPRESS MAIL SERVICE

LEAD 118 10-10-55 P.O. 1001-12-74

FROM:

TO:

Customer Number 4 910

PA/PC/CM:MPensabene:nc1
x21299:2/25/83

0017-0240

P830 031-0512

LPC:EUR(2/83)
H:TTowell

440

March 2, 1983

Dear Senator Dixon:

Thank you for your inquiry of January 27 on behalf of Mrs. Knarik O. Meneshian regarding issues raised by the article "Armenian Terrorism: A Profile," which appeared in the August 1982 issue of the Department of State Bulletin. I regret the delay in this response.

Counselor-designate and former Congressman Ed Derwinski and Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs John Hughes, and several other senior Department officials, met on January 12 with five individuals reflecting a broad cross-section of the Armenian-American community. Their meeting was frank, cordial, and mutually educational. Mr. Hughes explained that, since assuming his responsibilities as Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, he had carefully investigated the circumstances surrounding the publication of the article on Armenian terrorism and its accompanying notes. The article was part of a special section intended to convey the Department's serious concern over terrorism, whatever the group or the justification invoked for violent actions. It was published as an article of interest and not as an official statement of policy.

The following editor's note appeared in the next issue (September 1982) of the Bulletin:

The article, "Armenian Terrorism: A Profile," which appeared in the feature on terrorism in the August 1982 issue of the Bulletin, does not necessarily reflect an official position of the Department of State, and the interpretive comments in the article are solely those of the author.

I would like to take this opportunity to confirm that neither the article, "Armenian Terrorism: A Profile," nor the accompanying note represented an effort to present the official position of the Department of State. Publication of the article and the note represented no policy change by the Department.

The Honorable
Alan J. Dixon,
United States Senate.

D.M. Cravens

11/20/85

EXEMPTIONS

[illegible]

- 2 -

५

Enclosure:

Correspondence returned.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30
 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60
 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90
 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120
 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150
 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180
 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210
 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240
 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270
 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300
 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330
 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360
 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390
 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420
 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450
 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480
 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510
 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540
 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570
 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600
 601 602 603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630
 631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657 658 659 660
 661 662 663 664 665 666 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687 688 689 690
 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698 699 700 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708 709 710 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719 720
 721 722 723 724 725 726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750
 751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759 760 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769 770 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779 780
 781 782 783 784 785 786 787 788 789 790 791 792 793 794 795 796 797 798 799 800 801 802 803 804 805 806 807 808 809 810
 811 812 813 814 815 816 817 818 819 820 821 822 823 824 825 826 827 828 829 830 831 832 833 834 835 836 837 838 839 840
 841 842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 850 851 852 853 854 855 856 857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866 867 868 869 870
 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880 881 882 883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900
 901 902 903 904 905 906 907 908 909 910 911 912 913 914 915 916 917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924 925 926 927 928 929 930
 931 932 933 934 935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942 943 944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951 952 953 954 955 956 957 958 959 960
 961 962 963 964 965 966 967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977 978 979 980 981 982 983 984 985 986 987 988 989 990
 991 992 993 994 995 996 997 998 999 1000 1001 1002 1003 1004 1005 1006 1007 1008 1009 1010 1011 1012 1013 1

- 2 -

I appreciate your interest and regret any misunderstanding that may have arisen from the publication of this article in the Bulletin. I hope this information is useful in clarifying the matter.

Sincerely,

W
Powell A. Moore
Assistant Secretary for
Congressional Relations

cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc
cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc
cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc
cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc

JOHN GLENN
SEN

2030086-1849

IDENTITY
FOREIGN RELATIONS
GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS
SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON AGING

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

March 15, 1983

25
ACTION
It is signed in
[Signature]

Honorable Powell A. Moore
Assistant Secretary for
Congressional Relations
Department of State
2201 C Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Secretary Moore:

I am in receipt of your February 4th response to my inquiry concerning the article entitled "Armenian Terrorism: A Profile" which appeared in the August 1982 issue of the Department of State Bulletin.

I acknowledge your reaffirmation that neither the article nor the accompanying footnote represent the official position of the Department of State. However, this reaffirmation falls far short of a positive restatement of the historical position of the United States -- that we recognize and deplore the Armenian genocide. We cannot remake history, and the Armenian genocide is a matter of irrefutable historical fact. However, your efforts to clear away the lingering ambiguity created by the Department of State Bulletin would help to reassure the Armenian-American community that the U.S. has not and will not forget this tragedy.

I would be pleased to hear further from you in this regard.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

John Glenn
John Glenn
United States Senator

JG/pcm

D. M. Crum

11/20/85

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

APR 21 PM 8 55

RECEIVED STATE

43

1100 Belmont Washington D. C.

Telephonus 2021-2022

830046-2126

REGISTERED MAIL

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I am sure you will agree that the history of any nation and people can not be rewritten by political activism. However, what disturbs us as Turkish-Americans is that the efforts of the Armenian Community can cause policy change within the State Department in favor of Armenian allegations and against the best interest of the United States and a strong NATO ally, Turkey.

We have learned that during the month of January five members of the Armenian Association of America were received by the Honorable Edward J. Derwinski, Counselor of the State Department and the Honorable John Hughes, Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs and other high officials of the State Department. Reportedly at this meeting a promise was made to retract the final note which was published by the writer of the above mentioned article. The note states:

"Because the historical record of 1915 events is ambiguous, Department of State does not endorse allegations that the Turkish government committed a genocide against the Armenian people. Armenian terrorists use this allegation to justify in part their continuing attacks on Turkish diplomats and installations."

The Assembly of Turkish American Associations is an umbrella organization representing 34 regional, cultural associations and 150,000 American citizens of Turkish origin. I respectfully ask that you not allow retraction of the article which reflects fair and accurate treatment of historical facts. I also ask you to authorize a similar meeting between the same officials.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE MICROFILM
RECEIVED BY D. M. Cune DATE 11/20/85

The Honorable George P. Shultz
March 17, 1983
page 2

of the State Department and the delegation representing the Turkish-American community so that our side of the case can be heard. Such a meeting will also reflect that American citizens of Turkish origin are being treated equitably by the State Department.

Very truly yours,

Ulku Ulgur, M.D.
President

UU/sg

44

100-1-6557
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20540

March 28, 1983

Honorable George Schultz
Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I am greatly disturbed over an article which appeared in the August 1982 edition of the Department of State Bulletin entitled, "Armenian Terrorism: A Profile."

A footnote which appears in this article states "Because the historical record of the 1915 events in Asia Minor is ambiguous, the Department of State does not endorse allegations that the Turkish Government committed a genocide against the Armenian people". This statement is not only personally upsetting but also a contradiction to the State Department's own records. On July 18, 1915 a cable was sent to Secretary of State Robert Lansing from the Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire which stated "of Armenians assuming unprecedented proportions... wholesale expulsions and deportations from one end of the Empire to the other accompanied by frequent instances of rape, pillage, and murder, turning massacre... These measures are purely arbitrary and directed from Constantinople."

In addition, the genocide that occurred against the Armenian people has been publicly recognized by both Presidents Carter and Reagan.

I strongly urge you to have the record corrected and that the horror of the Armenian Holocaust receive some type of documentation in the Department of State Bulletin. This tragedy is an important mark in history and should not be forgotten.

Sincerely,

Mary Rose Oakar
Mary Rose Oakar
Member of Congress

D.M. Crane

4/20/83

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1983 APR 4 1M 2 05

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

100-1-6557

100-100000-100000

Mr. John Edgar Hoover
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, D.C. 20535

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am writing in regard to the August, 1987 issue of the magazine of Mike Wallace. I am particularly concerned by the article entitled "Armenian Terrorism" which has been brought to my attention by concerned citizens in my congressional district.

I am deeply disturbed by the unofficial position in the magazine that "The Department of State does not support allegations that the Turkish Government committed a genocide against the Armenian people." This would seem to be a glaring confirmation of the historical U.S. position with regard to the Armenian genocide. Both President Reagan and President Carter have acknowledged that the genocide took place and that it must not be forgotten. Congress has also confirmed this position, both in 1920 and in 1975. Additionally, the facts of this devastating event are well-documented in the State Department's records.

I feel it is the responsibility of the U.S. government to uphold the principle of the inviolability of history -- Armenian genocide -- against those who maintain that the destruction never occurred. As you are aware, the United States played a significant role in trying to prevent this tragedy and in assisting those who survived. I would hope that the State Department will issue a retraction of the language in the note, which has outraged American citizens of Armenian descent.

I thank you in advance for your consideration.

Very truly yours,
James E. Bryant
James E. Bryant
Member of Congress

RECEIVED STATE
20 JUN 87

100-100000-100000